

DOC 468A

日本國代表東條內閣總理大臣閣下
ノ挨拶及所見（十一月五日）（一九四三年昭和十八年）

本代表ヨリ、主催國ト致シマシテノ御挨拶ヲ述ベ、併セテ帝國政府ノ所見ヲ開陳致シタイト存ブルノデアリマス。
大東亞戰爭完遂ト大東亞新秩序建設ノ方針ニ関シマシテ隔意ナキ協議ヲ遂グル爲、今般大東亞會議開催方ヲ提議致シマシタル處、幸ヒ關係各國ノ哀心ヨリノ御賛同ヲ得マシテ、茲ニ大東亞各國代表トシテ各閣下ノ御集會ヲ見マシタルコトハ、主催國ト致シマシテ最も欣幸トシ又深く感謝ノ意ヲ表ス所デアリマス。尚御來朝中ノ自由印度假政府首班閣下ノ御陪席ヲ得マシタルコトハ、是亦洵ニ欣幸ト存スル所デアリマス。

惟ニ英帝國ハ過去數世紀ニ亘リ侵略ト征服ト依テ、全地球上ニ廣大ナル領土ヲ獲得シ、而シテ其ノ優越的地位ヲ飽ク迄モ維持セシメテ、世界各地ニ於テ他國ヲシテ相互ニ對立抗爭セシメテ來タデアリマス。他方米國ハ歐洲ノ動亂常ニ情勢ニ乗ジテ米大陸ニ霸權ヲ確立スルニ止マラス、概ネ米西戰爭ヲ契機ト致シミシテ、太平洋及ビ亞細亞ニ爪牙ヲ伸バスニ至リ、遂ニ第一次世界大戰爭ヲ轉機ト致シミシテ、英帝國ト共ニ世界制覇ノ野望ヲ逞シクシ米ソノデアリマス。而シテ今次ノ世界戰爭勃發後ニ於キミシテハ、米國ハ更ニ飛躍シ、北「アフリカ」、西「アフリカ」、大西洋、濠洲、近東、進デ印度方面ニ對シミシテモ、

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逐次其ノ魔手ヲ伸ビ、英帝國ノ地位ニ取リテ代リトシテ
居ルガアリマス。
米英ノ平素唱道致シスル國際正義、確立ト世界平和ノ保
障トハ畢竟歐洲ニ於キマス諸國家ノ分裂抗爭、助長ト
要綱要ニ於ケル植民地ノ搾取ノ永續化ト依ル利己的秩
序ノ維持ニ外ナラナイデアリス。而シテ要綱要ニ於ケル米英、
遣リ方ヲ見スルニ、彼等ハ政治的ニ侵略シ、經濟的ニ搾取シ、
更ニ教育文化、美名ニ匪シテ民族性ヲ喪失セシメ、相互ニ相
衝突セシメテ、其ノ非望ヲ達成シ圖ツタデアリス。斯クテ要
綱要、諸國家諸民族ハ常ニ其ノ存立ヲ脅威セシム其ノ安定
ヲ攪乱セシメ民生ハ其ノ本然ノ發展ヲ抑壓セシメ今日ニ至リ
タデアリス。彼等ノ呼號スル門戸開放、機會均等主義我
東亞ヲ植民地視スル根本觀念ニ基クモデアリス。實ハ
彼等ガ東亞侵略ノ非望ヲ遂ゲンガ爲、便宜手段ニ過ぎナイ
ガアリマス。彼等ハ自國ノ領土内ニ於テ、東亞ノ諸民族ニ對シテ
常ニ門戸ヲ閉鎖シ、機會ヲ不均等トシ、交易ヲ阻碍
シ、只管彼等ノミノ利己的欲求ヲ追及シタガアリ
マス。洵ニ米英兩國、懷ク世界制覇ノ野望ニシテ人類
ノ災厄、世界ノ禍根ト謂フガアリマス。
顧ミレバ東亞、諸國家諸民族、間ニ於テ解放、義舉、
起ツタコトハ一再ニ止マシカッタデアリス。或ハ米英、
暴戾恣睢キ武力的彈壓ニ依リ或ハ彼等、異民族統
御ノ常套手段ヲ用ル所、更ニ辣酷ニ離間策ニ依リ多
クハ失敗ニ歸シタガアリマス。此ノ間ニ在リテ日本、興隆ハ
米英ニ取リテ之ハ最も好ニカラザルモノトタガデ
アリマス。茲ニ於キマス中、彼等ハ一言ニ於テ事

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「日本抑壓、態度ニ出ツルト共、他方ニ於キデニハ日本ト
 東亞ニ於テ爾也、諸國家諸民族ト、商間ニ策スルコトヲ
 以テ、彼等、東亞政略、專斷スルニ至ツタデアリマス、蓋
 ニ東亞、隸屬化、維持スル為ニ、東亞ニ於テ何カ、國
 強國トテ勃興致シツルコト又、又東亞、諸國家諸民
 族、團結スルコト也、彼等ニ取リ、其、最ニ不利トスル所ヲ見カ
 テアリマス、而テ斯、如キ米英、東亞隸屬化、野望ハ特
 ニ最近數年間ニ於テ愈ニ露骨トシテ表ツタデアリマス、
 即チ將政確、便噸ニテ、日華兩國、國交ヲ阻礙、其極
 達ニ不幸ニ支那事変、力ヲ至ラシメ、之ヲ解決ニ
 對シテ有ラレ手段ヲ弄シ、其、妨碍ヲ策ミ、デアリマス、
 而テ今次歐洲戰爭勃發後ニ於テ至テハ、戰爭、小
 要ニ藉口ニテ平和的、通商ヲ妨碍、更ニ進ニテ其
 本質ニ於テ戰爭ト果ツザル所、經濟斷交、手段ニ
 想ハ、他面東亞、周邊ニ於テ武備ヲ增強ス、以テ我
 ニ壓從ヲ強シト試ム、東亞、安定ハ根柢ヨリ重大ニ
 脅威ヲ受ルニ至ツタデマス、斯、如キ米英、態度拘
 交、帝國ハ只管禍乱、東亞、天災、破滅スルヲ豫テ
 ト欲シマス、隱忍自重、最後迄平和的、交渉ニ
 依テ時局、收拾ヲ圖リテ参リ、デアリマス、然レニ

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米英、何等及有互讓、態度、出づ、却、益、脅
喝、と、壓迫、と、強ひ、帝國、存、立、う、危殆、頻、々、と
なり、帝國、遂、自存自衛、為、蹶、然、起
て、東亞、對、挑戰、應、じ、己、キ、至、り、茲、一、切、障
碍、破、碎、し、大、東亞、永、遠、平、和、確、立、為、國、運、賭
争、征、戰、高、進、る、ニ、ト、ナ、リ、テ、リ、ス。

大東亞戦争開始セラレマス。帝國陸海軍、善謀
勇戰、開戦後、米英、ラス、克、東亞、全地域、米
英、侵略、勢、カ、駈、逐、掃、蕩、致、シ、テ、アリ、ス。大東亞各國
ハ、或、宣、戦、ヲ、布、告、シ、共、戰、ヒ、或、緊、密、ニ、戰、争、完
遂、協、力、シ、テ、アリ、ス。今、大東亞諸民族、自覺、ト
熱情、ト、澎湃、ト、シ、大東亞、天地、漲、リ、内、於、キ、ニ、
ハ、各國、相、信、シ、相、和、シ、外、ニ、對、シ、テ、米、英、反、攻、ヲ、擊
攘、シ、自存自衛、全、ウ、シ、以、テ、大東亞、永、遠、安、定
ヲ、確、立、ス、為、高、躍、高、進、シ、テ、アリ、ス。

惟、今、次、戦争、大東亞、全民族、取、ル、ニ、テ、實、其
一、興、廢、岐、ニ、一、決、戦、ス、ル、ニ、此、戦、勝、ヲ、拔、リ、テ、
依、リ、テ、大東亞、諸民族、永、遠、其、存、立、大
東亞、天地、確、保、シ、共、榮、樂、ヲ、偕、致、シ、ス、ニ、ト、ナ、リ、

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本邦のデウス、詢、大東亞戦争、定遂に大東亞
 新秩序建設、確立を意味するデウス、素言米
 英、其情と云々物質的戦力、舉て大東亞三反
 攻線這ス、当然デウス、大東亞諸國家、其
 全の力を盡す之徹底の破砕し、更痛撃を加へ
 以て戦争を定遂す、大東亞永遠、安定、確保す
 べしデウス、此、秋ニ當りて、帝國、緒戦、
 獲得の戦略的優位、立す、雄渾を作戰、續行す
 居デウス、而て國內、於十三、此、雄渾の作戰
 三呼應致す、愈、國內態勢、整備、特、最
 近、決戦の圖、真一億一心、必勝、確信、下、強
 靱を闘志を以て、飽、此、大戦争定遂、邁進
 致す居デウス。

茲ニ各位代表に之を以て、大東亞滿國、亦
 帝國上策、其、全カ、卷々、宿敵、英、反抗
 ヲ駁撃、以て大東亞永遠、安定、圖、之、は、吾
 々、帝國、之、台、上、に、確信、を、も、つ、り、す。

次ニ大東亞、建設、圖、を、帝國政府、其、全、的、見、解、
 ヲ、申、出、す、べ、し、と、存、在、す。抑、世界各國、が、各、其、の、
 得、相、倚、り、相、扶、け、合、作、を、求、め、る、旨、を、致、す、に、

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世界平和確立ノ根本要義アルト信スルノアリマス。而シテノ
特ニ關係深キ諸國カ互ニ相扶ケテ各自ノ國權ニ培ヒ共
存共榮ノ紐帶ヲ結成スルコトニ他ノ地域ノ諸國家トノ間
ニ協和偕樂ノ關係ヲ設定致シマスルコトハ世里平和確立
ノ最も有效ニシテ且實際的方途アルト申サバハタズト存
スルノアリマス。

大東亞ノ各國カ有ラユル點ニ於テ離レ難キ緊密ナル關
係ヲ有シマスルコトハ否定シ得ル事實アリミレシスル關係
ニミツテ大東亞ノ各國カ協同シテ大東亞ノ安定ヲ確保シ
共存共榮ノ秩序ヲ建設致シマスルコトハ各國ノ共同ノ
使命アルト確信スルノアリマス。

大東亞ニ於ケル共存共榮ノ秩序ハ大東亞國有ノ道
義的精神ニ基キヤモナリマシテ此點ニ於テ自己ノ
繁榮ノためニハ不正、欺瞞、搾取ヲモ敢テ辭セザル未
英本位ノ舊秩序トハ根本的ニ異ナルモテアリマス。
大東亞各國ハ互ニ其ノ自主獨立ヲ尊重シツツ、
全權トシテ親和ノ關係ヲ確立スルキモテアリマス。相手方
ヲ尊重シテ利益ヲ利用スル所ハ親和ノ關係ヲ見出ス
コトハ出来ナイノアリマス。親和ノ關係ハ相手方ノ自主

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獨之ヲ尊重シ、他ノ民族ニ依リテ自ラニ益ヲ蒙リ、自他
其ニ其ノ本来ノ面目ヲ發揮スル所ニシテ生ジ得ルノト信スル
ノヲアリマス。

由來大東亞ニハ優劣ナル文化カ存レテ居ルベキアリマス。殊ニ大
東亞ノ精神文化ハ最も崇高、出立ナルベキアリマス。

今後愈々之ヲ長養醇化シテ廣ク世界ニ及ボスニハ、物質
文明ノ行進ヲ打開シ、人類全般ノ福祉ニ寄與スルニシテ、斯
カラサルモウリト信スルノヲアリマス。斯ル文化ヲ有シマスルニ
國ハ相互ニ其ノ支輝ル傳授ヲ尊重致シマスニシテ、

各民族ノ創造性ヲ伸暢シ、以テ大東亞ノ文化ヲ益々
昂揚セヌベキト希フノヲアリマス。

更ニ大東亞ノ各國ハ、民生ノ向上、國力ノ充實ヲ圖ルニシテ、
相互ノ下ニ緊密ナル經濟提携ヲ行ヒ、協同シテ大東亞
ノ繁榮ヲ増進スルベキト信スルノヲアリマス。大東亞ノ未來更ニ

年ノ擢取ノ對面ニ立ち来るベキアリマス。今茲ハ經濟的ニモ
自主獨立、相倚リ相扶ケテ其ノ繁榮ヲ期サレバ、又
ト固クナルベキ。斯ル如クニシテ建設セラルベキ大東亞ノ新
秩序ハ排他的ノモノハナク、廣ク世界各國ト間ニ政治
的、經濟的ニシテ、將又文化的ニ積極的ニ協力ノ關係

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ニミテ以テ世界ノ進軍ニ貢獻スベキノ所アリマス。
 ロニ自由平等ヲ唱ヘツ。他國家、他民族ニ對シ
 抑壓ト差別ト以テ臨ミ。他ニ門戸開放ヲ強セツ。
 自ラハ極大ナル土地ト資源トヲ壟斷シ。他ノ生存ヲ
 威脅トシ。欲ミテ世界全盤ノ進軍ヲ阻礙シテ其
 マシヨ。其後從軍ノヤリカトハ全ク趣ヲ田舎ニシテ居ニシ
 アリマス。

道義ニ基ク大東亞ノ新建設ハ現ニ戰塵ノ真只中ニ在リテ
 着々トシテ實現ヲ見ツ。予ハ下リマス。然ルニ米英側、印度
 ニ對シテ心遣リロ。果シテ如何ヲ予リセウカ。今ヤ英國ノ彈
 圧ハ日ニ月ニ其ノ度ヲ如ヘ。又最近ニ於テハ英國ノ野望モ加リ
 彼等ト印度民眾トノ軋轢乖離ハ愈々激化シ。印度回德
 ノ民眾ハ言語ニ絶ス。苦惱ヲ饑ニ居ルニ下リマス。特ニ
 最近之ニ依ッテ招来セヨシ空前ノ飢饉ハ米英自ラモ之ヲ
 認ム所ナリマス。

斯クテ印度ニ於キテハ古クテ者ハ悉ク牢獄ニ投ゼシ。無
 幸ノ民眾ハ饑ニ飢ニ居ルニ下リマス。是正ニ世界
 ノ悲劇ニアリ。人類共同ノ痛恨事ナリ。義憤ニ燃
 ェ。我々大東亞民族ノ斷ジテ放置シ得ザル所ナリマス。

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時(す)に、スミス・ド・ラ・ポス・氏、躍起スルアリ之ニ呼應シテ
 外、印度人主(起)テ上リテニ印度政府、樹立ヲ見、印
 度独立基礎(現)ニ成(タ)リ。又、帝國ノ要ニ印度独
 立、急有(タ)シ協カト支援トヲ致スベキコトヲ中外ニ闡明致
 シ、又、大東亞、諸國家モ亦齊ニ印度独立見
 成、急(タ)カシ協カヲ寄セシ。コトヲ我ハ確信致スモ、
 アリテ、我英ガ所謂大西洋憲章、依テ標榜セシト
 現ニ印度ニ對シ、實際ニ報(シ)テ、事與トヲ彼等ハ如何ナ
 シ、論理ニ依(テ)カ、之ヲ調和ヤントスモ、之ハ不可能ノ事ナリト
 存心ナリ。併シ、今更彼等、予盾ヲ
 見テ驚(キ)モ、トナリ。全世界ノ人々、今日迄我、
 表裏、揭(ク)ル美ハ、キ眉歎ト、其ハ肚裏ニ包藏スモ、ト、
 予言(フ)餘(ニ)多ク見セシ、欺瞞ト偽裝ト、
 彼等我、本性ナリコトヲ已ニ我知致(シ)居(ル)ナリ
 ス。段今、敵側、急(タ)シ如何ナシモ、ナリ。又、
 大東亞各國ト相携、今、天也、公道ヲ安(メ)、大東
 亞、我、恒(ニ)解(ル)ベシ。大東亞各國ト協同シ、大東
 亞、復興、興隆(ス)ルコトヲ期(ス)、ニ、今ヤ

No. 9.

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證明書

ワシントン文書局 第 第
國際檢察部 第四六八號

典據及公証に關する證明

余 林 馨、余が下記資格に於て、即ち外務文書課長として日本政府と公的関係に在るものと、並に該官吏として余が茲に添附せしめる英文、法文、西文、葡文、西夏文、成、十九百四十二年、昭和十七年十月附下記題名、即ち東京、於て大東亞會議演說集、文書保管に在るものと茲に證明する。
余、更に添附、記録及文書が日本政府、公文書として並に下記名稱、省又都府、公文書類及綴一部として證明する。(若し、公綴番號又引用其他公文書類及綴に於て該文書、正規所在、公名稱を特記する)

外務方

十九百四十六年、昭和二十一年十月五日

東京に於て署名

當該官吏署名欄

左、者、公的資格

證人

ケー、林

文書課長

尾戸長春

(林)

(尾)

公証人に関する證明

余、ケリー、ニクソン、余が聯合國軍事指揮官總司令部關係に在るものと、並に下記題名文書、余が公務として日本政府に記署名官として入るものと茲に證明する。

十九百四十六年、昭和二十一年十月五日

東京に於て署名

氏名欄

右、者、公的資格

証人

ケリー、ニクソン(署名)

國際檢察部調査官

アール、エイチ、アレン(署名)

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page. 1

1. ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO,
REPRESENTATIVE OF JAPAN

November 5, 1943
(Translation)

As the representative of the sponsor nation, I have the privilege to extend to you the sincere greetings of the Japanese Government and to make a statement of their views.

Some time ago, the Japanese Government proposed the convening of an Assembly of Greater East-Asiatic Nations for the purpose of holding frank deliberations on policies relative to bringing the War of Greater East Asia to a successful conclusion and to constructing a new order in Greater East Asia. This proposal, I am happy to say, met with hearty approval on the part of all the countries concerned, and it is with a sense of great pleasure and profound gratitude that today at this gathering I bid welcome to Your Excellencies as representatives of the nations of Greater East Asia. I am also happy to say that this Assembly is honoured by the presence of His Excellency, the Head of the Provisional Government of Free India.

During the past centuries, the British Empire, through fraud and aggression, acquired vast territories throughout the world and maintained its domination over other nations and peoples in the various regions by keeping them pitted and engaged in conflict one against another. On the other hand, the United States, which, by taking advantage of the disorder and confusion in Europe, had established its supremacy over the American continents, spread its tentacles to the Pacific and to East Asia following its war with Spain. Then, with the opportunities afforded by the First World War, the United States began to pursue its ambition for world hegemony. More recently, with the outbreak of the present war, the United States has further intensified its imperialistic activities and has made fresh inroads into North Africa, West Africa, the Atlantic Ocean, Australia, the Near East and even into India, apparently in an attempt to usurp the place of the British Empire.

The need of upholding international justice and of guaranteeing world peace is habitually stressed by America and Britain. They mean thereby no more and no less than the preservation of a world order of their own, based upon division and conflict in Europe and upon the perpetuation of their colonial exploitation of Asia. They sought to realize their inordinate ambitions in Asia through political aggression and economic exploitation; they brought on conflict among the various peoples; they tried to destroy their racial integrity under the

fair name of education and culture. Thus, they have to this day threatened constantly the existence of the nations and peoples of Asia, disturbed their stability, and suppressed their natural and proper development. It is because of their notion to regard East Asia as a colony that they harp upon the principles of the open door and equal opportunity simply as a convenient means of pursuing their sinister designs of aggression. While constantly keeping their own territories closed to us, the peoples of Asia, thus denying us the equality of opportunities and impeding our trade, they sought solely their own prosperity. The Anglo-American ambition of world hegemony is indeed a scourge of mankind and the root of the world's evils.

Movements for emancipation have occurred from time to time among the nations and peoples of East Asia, but due to the ruthless and tyrannical armed oppression by America and Britain, or due to their malicious old trick of division and alienation for ruling other races, these patriotic efforts ended largely in failure. Meanwhile, Japan's rise in power and prestige was looked upon by America and Britain with increasing dislike. They made it the cardinal point of their East Asia Policy, on the one hand, to restrain Japan at every turn and, on the other, to alienate her from the other countries of East Asia. It was obviously unwise for them to permit either the rise of any one country as a great Power or the banding together of the various nations and peoples. These American and British methods became more and more sinister and high-handed, especially in the last several years.

For example, they made a tool of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and so aggravated Sino-Japanese relations as to lead to the unfortunate China Affair. Furthermore, they resorted to every possible means to obstruct a settlement. Following the outbreak of the present war in Europe, they interfered with free commerce under the pretext of wartime necessity and even resorted to the severance of economic relations with Japan, an act tantamount to war. At the same time, they augmented their military preparations in East Asia in an effort to force Japan's submission. Despite such an attitude on the part of the United States and Britain, Japan, in her desire to prevent war from spreading into East Asia, endeavored to the last to find a solution by peaceful negotiation. However, the United States and Britain, not only failing completely to manifest an attitude of reflection and mutual concession, but intensifying instead their threats and pressure, endangered the very existence of our nation. Japan at last was compelled to rise in self-defense and to fight for her existence, and thus she accepted the challenge that was hurled against East Asia. Staking her national fortunes, Japan marched forth to battle in order that permanent peace might be established in East Asia.

With the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia, the Imperial Army and Navy fought with heroic courage under carefully-laid plans and within less than half a year expelled America and Britain from the entire region of East Asia. The various countries of Greater East Asia have either declared war to fight with us, or are closely co-operating for the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. Today, the ardour and enthusiasm of the peoples of Greater East Asia have spread throughout our region. With mutual trust and harmony among our nations, we are valiantly marching forward together to secure our existence and to establish permanent stability in Greater East Asia by crushing the counter-offensives of America and Britain.

It is my belief that for all the peoples of Greater East Asia the present war is a decisive struggle upon whose outcome depends their rise or fall. It is only by winning through this war that they may ensure forever their existence in their Greater East-Asian home and enjoy common prosperity and happiness. Indeed, a successful conclusion of this war means the completion of the very task of constructing the new order of Greater East Asia.

The United States and Britain may naturally repeat their counter-offensives against Greater East Asia with all their material might upon which they rely, but we, the nations of Greater East Asia, must summon up our total strength to repel these attacks. We must deal out crushing blows to our enemy and thereby finish the war victoriously and secure to East Asia an enduring peace and stability.

At this moment, Japan is carrying out extensive operations from her position of strategical advantage acquired by her early victories in the war. On the home front, the internal structure, in parallel with these operations, has been steadily improved. Especially through the recent re-organization it has been so adjusted as to meet fully the needs of decisive warfare. Her one hundred million people with but a single mind, with a firm conviction in sure victory and with an inflexible fighting spirit are marching forward to triumph in this great war. I firmly believe that the other Greater East-Asiatic nations, whom you represent here, are also grimly resolved to shatter the counter-offensives of their age-old enemies, America and Britain, by throwing their full weight into the field in concert with the Japanese nation and thereby to secure lasting stability for Greater East Asia.

Next, it is my desire to express to you the fundamental views of the Japanese Government regarding the construction of Greater East Asia.

It is my belief that to enable all nations each to have its proper place and to enjoy the blessings of common prosperity by mutual efforts and mutual help is the fundamental condition for the establishment of

world peace. And I must furthermore say that to practise mutual help among closely related nations in one region, fostering one another's national growth and establishing a relationship of common prosperity and well-being, and, at the same time, to cultivate relations of harmony and concord with nations of other regions is the most effective and the most practical method of securing world peace.

It is an incontrovertible fact that the nations of Greater East Asia are bound, in every respect, by ties of an inseparable relationship. I firmly believe that such being the case, it is their common mission to secure the stability of Greater East Asia and to construct a new order of common prosperity and well-being.

This new order of Greater East Asia is to rest upon the spirit of justice which is inherent in Greater East Asia. In this respect it is fundamentally different from the old order designed to serve the interests of the United States and Britain who do not hesitate to practise injustice, deception and exploitation in order to promote their own prosperity.

The nations of Greater East Asia, while mutually recognizing their autonomy and independence, must, as a whole, establish among themselves relations of brotherly amity. Such relations cannot be created if one country should utilize another as a means to an end. I believe that they come into being only when there is mutual respect for one another's autonomy and independence, when one prospers through another's prosperity and all countries give expression to their true selves.

A superior order of culture has existed in Greater East Asia from the very beginning. Especially is the spiritual essence of the culture of Greater East Asia the most sublime in the world. It is my belief that in the wide diffusion throughout the world of this culture of Greater East Asia by its further cultivation and refinement lies the salvation of mankind from the curse of materialistic civilization and our contribution to the welfare of all humanity. It is incumbent upon us all mutually to respect one another's glorious traditions and to develop the creative spirit and genius of our peoples and thereby to enhance even more the culture of Greater East Asia.

Furthermore, I believe that in order to promote the welfare of the people and to replenish the national power, the nations of Greater East Asia must carry on close economic collaboration on the basis of reciprocity and jointly promote the prosperity of Greater East Asia. Hitherto, for many years, Greater East Asia has been the object of Anglo-American exploitation; henceforth, we must be autonomous and independent in the economic field to gain prosperity by mutually depending on and helping one another.

The new order of Greater East Asia which we are building is not exclusive unto itself. Rather it seeks positively to enter into co-operative relations with the nations of the world, politically, economically and also culturally, and thus contribute to the world's advancement. How completely different is this from the way of the United States and Britain which, while advocating freedom and equality, oppress and discriminate against other nations and other peoples; and which, while imposing the open door on others, monopolize vast territories and natural resources, threaten the existence of others without compunction and retard the general advancement of the entire world.

The construction of Greater East Asia is being realized with grim steadiness in the midst of war. In contrast, what are America and Britain doing in India? Britain's oppression of India grows in severity with every passing day. More recently, America's ambition there has asserted itself and discord and friction between Britain and America on the one hand and the Indian masses on the other are being aggravated; and the Indian people are being subjected to indescribable hardships and tribulations.

The famine of unprecedented magnitude, which such a situation has recently brought about in India, has even been admitted by Britain and America. All patriots of India are imprisoned, while the innocent masses are starving. This is a world tragedy--a calamity of all mankind. The peoples of Greater East Asia could never let it go unattended. Happily, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose responded to the call of the hour and with him rose the Indian patriots both within and without their country. Thus was the Provisional Government of Free India created and the foundation of Indian independence laid. The Japanese Government have already declared to the world that they will extend every co-operation and assistance for the independence of India. I am confident that the other nations of Greater East Asia will also give whole-hearted support for the realization of Indian independence.

By no logic and reason could America and Britain possibly reconcile what they advocate under the so-called Atlantic Charter with what they are actually doing in India. But we are not even surprised at the contradictions between the beautiful signboards which they put up and the evil designs which they harbour within. We know too well that deception and camouflage constitute their very nature. However, regardless of what the enemy may do, Japan is determined to follow, together with the other nations of Greater East Asia, the path of justice, to deliver Greater East Asia from the fetters of America and Britain and, in co-operation with her neighbour nations, to strive toward the reconstruction and development of Greater East Asia.

Today, the unity of the countries and peoples of Greater East Asia has been achieved and they have embarked upon the gigantic enterprise of constructing Greater East Asia for the common prosperity of all nations. This surely must be regarded as the grandest spectacle of human effort in modern times.

As regards the situation in Europe, we are very glad that our ally, Germany, has still further solidified her national unity and, with conviction in sure victory, is advancing to crush the United States and Britain and to construct a new Europe.

The War of Greater East Asia is truly a war to destroy evil and to make justice manifest. Ours is a righteous cause. Justice knows no enemy and we are fully convinced of our ultimate victory.

Japan is grateful to the nations of Greater East Asia for the wholehearted co-operation which they are rendering in this war. Japan is firmly determined, by co-operating with them and by strengthening her collaboration with her allies in Europe, to carry on with indefatigable spirit and with conviction in sure victory this war, the intensity of which is expected to mount from day to day. Japan, by overcoming all difficulties, will do her full share to complete the construction of Greater East Asia and contribute to the establishment of world peace which is the common mission of us all.

C E R T I F I C A T EI.P.S. No. 468 AStatement of Source and Authenticity

I, HAYASHI Kaoru ----- hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Chief, Archives Section. -----
FOREIGN MINISTRY. -----
and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of 65 pages, in English, 74 pages in Japanese, and 24 pages in Chinese, and described as follows: "Addresses Before the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations", Tokyo, November 1943. -----
I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files):
FOREIGN MINISTRY. -----

Signed at TOKYO on this
5th day of November, 1946.

K. HAYASHI
signature of Official

Witness: Nagaharu Odo

SEAL
Chief, Archives Section
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Statement of Official Procurement

I, HENRY SHIMOJIMA -----, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above described document was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at TOKYO on this

5th day of November, 1946

Witness: R. H. Larsh

HENRY SHIMOJIMA

Investigator
Official Capacity